THE Nation

September 30, 1950

The Vote on China

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

*

Attlee's Case on Steel

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

*

Billion-Dollar Lobbying

BY WILLARD SHELTON

*

Migrants: Inquiry or Inquest?

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

20 CENTS A COPY · EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865 · 7 DOLLARS A YEAR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

THE *Nation*

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine $9.50
You Save $2.50

☐ *with* Consumer Reports $10.75
You Save $1.25

☐ *with* Harper's Magazine and Consumer Reports $13.25
You Save $3.75

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE *Nation by itself:*

☐ One Year $7 ☐ Two Years $12 ☐ Three Years $17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE $5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage $1 a year extra

THE NATION
20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years.
  ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

_____

_____

_____

NAME_____

STREET_____

CITY_____ ZONE_____ STATE_____

9/30/50

SPECIAL NOTICE TO READERS:

To Subscribers:

Nation subscribers should give us at least three weeks' notice of a change of address, indicating the old as well as the new address.

Please cooperate by renewing your current subscription on receipt of the first notice of expiration.

To Newsstand Readers:

The only certain way of getting *The Nation* regularly is to enter a subscription. By doing so you will not only insure prompt receipt of your copy but save considerable money.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 171 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • SEPTEMBER 30, 1950 NUMBER 14

The Shape of Things

THE AMERICAN WAY DID BETTER IN KOREA last week than in the United States. While the totalitarian dream of thought control was being rudely shattered by the courage of our infantry and marines near Seoul, it was being visibly realized by the cravenness of Representatives and Senators in Washington. Out of hysteria, ignorance, and a plain lust for reelection the representatives of the people passed a supposedly anti-Communist bill that not only plays into the hands of the Communists, but as President Truman pointed out in his splendid veto message, "would open a Pandora's box of opportunities for official condemnation of organizations and individuals for perfectly honest opinions which happen to be stated also by Communists." On advice of all his security agencies the President told Congress that it would be "two to four years" before the registration provisions of the bill could even be acted on with finality by the courts, and then the Communists could evade them simply by changing the names of their organizations and shuffling their lists of officers. But meanwhile "the part of prudence" for others would be to "avoid saying anything that might be construed by someone as not deviating sufficiently from the current Communist propaganda line." It is tragic that in the face of Mr. Truman's cogent argument—and his message should be read by every literate American—only ten Senators had the courage to stand up and vote to sustain his veto. We are gratified that men of the caliber of Senators Douglas and Humphrey had the character to reverse themselves and join those like Lehman and Kefauver and Graham in support of the President. As for Majority Leader Lucas, who without the consent of either the President or his party colleagues engineered passage of the omnibus bill to serve his own campaign purposes, the Senate could be no worse off if he were to lose. Since his opponent is a McCormick Republican, we can say nothing more drastic.

*

MR. ACHESON'S PROPOSAL TO THE U. N. General Assembly is a direct product of the Korean war, which has modified so many well-established attitudes. He recommended that the Assembly prepare itself to take over the functions of the Security Council if the Council, "because of lack of unanimity of the permanent members," is unable to move against threatened or overt aggression. It was only the fortuitous absence of the Russians that allowed the Security Council to vote sanctions against North Korea after the June 25 attack; otherwise a Soviet veto would have prevented U. N. action and forced the United States into a unilateral defense of the South Korean republic. Next time, if there is a next time, the Russians will presumably be on hand to cast a negative vote. To provide a way to circumvent the veto and insure action in a similar emergency, Mr. Acheson would have the General Assembly able to call a special session within twenty-four hours at the request of either a majority of its members or any seven members of the Security Council. He also suggests the appointment of a U. N. commission to travel, observe, and report to the Assembly from any area of the world where a threat to the peace develops. And finally he proposes that, in the absence of United Nations military forces, as provided for in Article 43 of the Charter, member nations should designate within their national armed forces certain units which would be prepared for instant service on behalf of the world organization.

*

THIS PLAN HAS BEEN RECEIVED WITH VERY noticeable reserve inside the United Nations, especially among the other big powers. Designed to disarm the Russians, it disarms the rest of the permanent members of the Security Council as well. To recognize its possible complications one has only to ask how the United States would feel about abandoning the veto if Russia had a few reliable allies in the Council or if left-wing governments should gain power in a number of European or Latin American countries. Even as things stand, the Acheson proposal gives the smaller nations in the U. N. a decisive power that is bound to alarm the bigger ones, on whom the chief burden of defense against aggression must fall. Though the Assembly can only "recommend," not "order," action, its decision would presumably be effective; even the Security Council's resolution on Korea merely "requested" the assistance of U. N. members. Under the Acheson plan a combination of smaller states could conceivably vote the great powers into a global war. This possibility is of course exactly what induced the Big Five at San Francisco to insist that power in matters involving war and peace should be restricted to the Security Council, and the interest of each one be secured by permanent membership reinforced with the veto. The proposal that these protections be now abandoned meas-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS
The Shape of Things 277
They're Off! 280

ARTICLES
Billion-Dollar Lobbying *by Willard Shelton* 281
The Vote on China *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 282
The Danes Stand Pat *by Erling Bjol* 283
Indian Summer Daydream
Cartoon by David Low 284
British Worries About Korea
by Fenner Brockway 285
Migrants: Inquiry or Inquest?
by Carey McWilliams 286
Notes from Paris *by Alexander Werth* 287
Beside the Point
by Margaret Marshall and Robert Bendiner 288
Everybody's Business: Attlee's Case on Steel
by Keith Hutchison 289

BOOKS AND THE ARTS
Essays and Asides: Comedy and the Half-Truth
by Joseph Wood Krutch 290
On Teaching *by George Genzmer* 291
Down with the Gentleman!
by Reinhold Niebuhr 292
Verse Chronicle *by Rolfe Humphries* 292
Art *by S. Lane Faison, Jr.* 293
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 294
Drama *by Margaret Marshall* 295

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 296

CROSSWORD PUZZLE NO. 381
by Frank W. Lewis opposite 296

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Executive Editor: Harold C. Field
Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall
Associate Editor: Robert Bendiner
Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Washington Editor: Willard Shelton
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors
Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Maxwell S. Stewart, J. King Gordon, Ralph Bates, Andrew Roth

Business & Advertising Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1950, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.
Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.
Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.
Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

ures the degree to which the Russian threat outweighs, in the minds of Administration leaders, even such considerations as the sovereign right to make war—or refuse to do so.

*

SUCCESSFUL EFFORTS BY THE PARTY WHIPS to secure a full attendance of members enabled the British Labor government to repel the opposition's challenge on steel nationalization last week. A good many Tories—but not Mr. Churchill—probably greeted their defeat with a sigh of relief: they are far from certain that an election at this time would be to their advantage. And some Labor supporters regard their victory a little ruefully, believing that the present is as favorable a moment for an appeal to the electorate as is likely to occur for a long period. This view is being expressed by the *Tribune*, the Labor weekly which is often regarded as the voice of Health Minister Aneurin Bevan, since he was one of its founders and his wife, Jennie Lee, M. P., is still a member of the editorial board. The latest issue of this publication argues that the existing situation in the House of Commons, where the government has a margin of only seven votes, fetters Labor policy intolerably. It predicts that a new election would raise the party's majority to sixty or seventy. This appears to be a rather over-optimistic forecast, although a vote would probably mean some addition to Labor's parliamentary strength. However, Prime Minister Attlee is supposed not to favor an appeal to the people at this time of international crisis unless it is forced upon him. Presumably he feels that as long as the government is undefeated in the Commons, it is unwise, as well as unnecessary, to plunge the country into the turmoil of a general election.

*

WHEN PURSHOTTAMDAS TANDON WAS elected president of the all-powerful Indian Congress Party a few weeks ago, most observers reported that the position of Prime Minister Nehru had been seriously weakened. Tandon, an old-fashioned scholar, was supported by Hindu religious fanatics who oppose Nehru's policy of tolerance for all faiths and also by the big industrialists who fear his socialist tendencies, moderate as they now are. Consequently it was thought that the election would make it increasingly difficult for Nehru to continue his efforts to discourage communalism, to find a *modus vivendi* with Pakistan, and to launch his program for a "welfare state." There were even suggestions that he might be forced to resign. However, when the All-India Congress assembled 3,000 strong on September 20, he met the implied challenge squarely. He told the delegates that there could be no compromise on the question of communalism. "If you do not want me to remain as Premier," he said, "you tell me and I will go. . . . I will go out and fight independently for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the ideals of the Congress as I have done all these years." This stand was fully supported by Mr. Tandon, who in his presidential address declared: "The administration of this country cannot be run from the communal standpoint or on the authority of any fixed religious book. Even thinking on these lines will increase internal dissensions and weaken our administration." In the face of these speeches, opposition melted, and the Congress passed a series of resolutions supporting Nehru's policies both domestic and foreign. This action, reinforcing Nehru's authority at home, is certain to have important consequences abroad as well. India's voice in world affairs has been strengthened as a result of Nehru's victory in the Congress.

✶

GOVERNOR DEWEY'S PERFORMANCE AT THE dinner given by New York City on September 21 for delegates to the United Nations Assembly was clearly a play to the gallery, and it may help to forward his political ambitions. But it was certainly a disservice both to the United Nations and to the United States delegation, which is trying to win a strong indorsement of our policies from the Assembly. Irrespective of the accuracy of Dewey's remarks about Russian "slave labor," their utterance on such an occasion was both bad taste and bad diplomacy. Messrs. Vishinsky and Malik, like all the other Assembly delegates present, were the guests of New York City, and the gathering, as General Carlos P. Romulo pointedly remarked later in the evening, was intended to emphasize friendship among nations. The Governor's supposed task was to extend a welcome to the Assembly on behalf of New York State. Instead, he launched into a tirade which made it impossible for the two Russians to remain in their seats. Many of our foreign visitors, as well as leading members of the U. N. secretariat, who have no objection to blunt talk on the floor of the Assembly, feel that this display of provocative bad manners was quite inexcusable. Besides, it played into the hands of the Russians, who in the opening sessions of the Assembly had been attempting to strengthen their claim to be the great champions of peace by at least a show of amiability. This change of tactics may not prove very convincing, but when a prominent American goes out of his way to slap Russian faces on a social occasion it weakens our counter-claim to leadership of a fight against aggression.

✶

THE DEATH OF RICHARD LAUTERBACH IS A loss to American journalism that will be felt, acutely and personally, by everyone who knew or worked with him. Killed by polio at the age of thirty-six, Lauterbach had already achieved a position any journalist would take pride in. He had served as foreign editor of *Life*, headed the *Time-Life* bureau in Moscow, and acted as roving editor for both journals in the Far East—all between 1943 and 1946. He had written two books on Russia and one on Asia. Called in as editor just too late to save the short-lived magazine *'48*, he made the last few issues memorable. He lent his energy and an intense interest in liberal journalism to the New York *Star*, successor to *PM*, but like *'48* the *Star* lacked the financial backing that might have enabled it to succeed. When he died he was writing a biography of Charlie Chaplin, after several months of preliminary digging in Hollywood. But for all this impressive record, Lauterbach's most important work obviously lay ahead. His real talent both as editor and writer was in the field of creative reporting. He knew how to make events live and reveal the relationships and processes behind them. Independent and undogmatic in his thinking, his sympathies were with the left; his deepest concern in his last year was the brutal attack on civil liberties in this country, especially the growth of censorship, visible and invisible. Had he lived he would certainly have developed in the best tradition of crusading American journalism, though with a modern emphasis on facts rather than argument. His death is tragic, both for what he was and for all he would have been.

✶

THE APPOINTMENT OF NURI SAID AS PRIME Minister of Iraq was a clear indication to Middle East experts of Britain's need of the man who is said to know the British mind better than the British do themselves. The career of Iraq's new-old Prime Minister has been a reliable barometer of Britain's interest and influence in that country. He has served in two-thirds of Iraq's governments over the last twenty-eight years, holding during those years some twenty-odd Cabinet posts. So much is he a symbol of Whitehall that during the anti-British revolts that swept Iraq in 1936, 1941, and 1948 he had to flee the country. None the less, the British apparently feel that the experience he can bring to bear on the developing economic crisis far outweighs his drawbacks as a symbol of their influence. For several reasons, however, Nuri Said's return to power is not likely to be followed by resumption of negotiations for the "Fertile Crescent," or "Greater Syria," project which would unite Iraq, Syria, and Jordan under the pro-British Hashemites. Not only is there considerable popular opposition to this scheme in Syria, but the American State Department has recently vetoed the idea as incompatible with United States policy in the area. Although American military and economic commitments are still largely restricted to Turkey and Iran—the so-called roof of the Middle East—the appointment of top-flight ambassadors to all the Middle Eastern capitals is a clear indication that Washington intends to take an ever more active role in a theater long considered exclusively British.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

They're Off

THE primaries are over and the lines are drawn for the biennial exchange of epithets, evasions, loose charges, and reckless countercharges that regularly mark our selection of a national legislature. Most of the windy rhetoric and stale campaign devices will as usual count for little, being by this time more widely accepted as a national folkway than as serious debate. For the most part the fate of Representatives will be linked to that of the men who head their respective tickets—the nominees for Governor or Senator. And of these, many, in turn, will win or lose on the basis of the traditional party alignment in their particular state. In a mechanical sense, then, the election will be decided in a handful of industrial states with sizable delegations in the House and a tendency to shift back and forth between the two parties. We intend, of course, to publish detailed reports from these key areas as the campaign develops.

From our point of view it is extremely desirable that the Democrats retain control of Congress, not because of any inherent superiority as a party, but simply because it is now more difficult than ever for this country to play its role on the world stage with a divided government guiding its behavior. But we are far from believing that the importance of the election lies solely in the bare win-or-lose results as between the two parties.

Whatever the outcome in partisan terms, it is good for the country that the men and women on Capitol Hill have to go home now and talk with their neighbors. They have been too long away, it seems to us, and far too dependent on the notoriously unreliable voices of newspaper publishers, too sensitive to high-pressure letter campaigns. Anyone who has been out in the country at all knows that the hysteria over the menace of communism is shrillest among the professional politicians—national, state, and local; that it recedes in intensity the farther one moves from the seat of government. It is doubtful whether normally balanced Senators would have voted to hogtie the Constitution, as they did with the McCarran-Kilgore bill, had they spent less time exchanging morbid fears with one another and more with the sober citizens of their home towns. The popular reaction to the ousting of Jean Muir is perhaps a straw in the wind. Another is the smashing indorsement given to Senator Tydings in the Maryland primary. Next to Secretary Acheson the blackest villain in the McCarthy immorality play, attacked by rival candidates for having allegedly "whitewashed" the State Department, Tydings won the Democratic nomination for the Senate last week by a thumping majority, carrying every district in the state.

On this issue and on others it will be impossible to weigh the significance of any one race without knowing the nature of the particular campaign, previous votes in the state or district, and all the complicating factors involved. A victory for McCarran over his Republican opponent, for example, would in no way be an indorsement of the Senator's Know-Nothing immigration policies; it would simply be the natural consequence of the grip which his political machine has on the state of Nevada. But the size of his margin, the rise or fall in the proportion of his victory—these would be tip-offs on public feeling. Or, to take a totally different case, a victory for Lucas in Illinois would be very far from a triumph for liberalism, but it would tell a good deal as to whether or not isolationism, the essence of his opponent's campaign, has a future in the Middle West.

This is the sort of thing to watch for in the campaign beyond the simplicities of partisan victories and defeats. If Governor Bowles goes down in Connecticut, it will hardly be surprising in view of the extreme rarity with which the Democrats carry an off-year election in that state; but if he wins, the result will be a significant triumph for New Dealism and probably the addition of another state to the ranks of those that have swung to the Democrats on a more or less permanent basis. In Idaho and in Indiana, where conservatives are running on both tickets, the results of the Senatorial races will prove almost nothing; but in Iowa a victory for Loveland, the Democrat, over Hickenlooper will be the kind of cogent argument for the Brannan plan that will change many a Congressional mind. If Governor Duff beats Myers in Pennsylvania, the Grundy machine, which bitterly opposed the Governor's nomination for a Senate seat, will probably go to the dump heap; if Myers wins, the state can be considered safe for the Democrats in the Presidential election of 1952. Ohio will prove little if it again elects Taft by a small margin. If it gives him a big victory, however, he will be hard to head off for the Republican Presidential nomination; if it beats him, labor will be more than ever a political factor of first importance.

To all of these, and to the equally important Senatorial races in California, New York, Missouri, Utah, and Colorado, we plan to give all possible attention. The United States Senate today includes some of the most unsavory men who ever discredited that chamber. Unfortunately the worst of them—McCarthy, the unspeakable Jenner, and most of the other "Piltdown men," as Robert S. Allen calls them in his new book—slipped through in the last off-year election. The country can hardly afford a repetition of 1946. The Senate definitely cannot afford the addition of another demagogue who, for supposed political advantage, can rise at a moment of great national crisis and brand the Secretary of State a "cutthroat" and General Marshall a "living lie."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Billion-Dollar Lobbying

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, September 21

WHEN the special House committee investigating lobbies began hearings several months ago, many observers felt that the Republicans were likely to frustrate the intentions of its chairman, Representative Buchanan of Pennsylvania, and turn the committee into a mere debating society. Instead, the committee is about ready to issue a report so incisive in its conclusions and so biting in its language that the Republicans are roaring with anger. Its main contention is that lobbying is a billion-dollar industry in which big business has tremendous advantages over all other pressure groups, and it cites chapter and verse to prove it.

The committee does not criticize lobbying in principle. It recognizes that the constitutional guaranty of the right to petition for a redress of grievances sanctions lobbying and that the activities of lobbyists are "as natural to our kind of government as breathing." Liberal and labor lobbyists, it points out, use the same techniques as business lobbyists, and all raise money from their supporters by scaring them about coming "crises."

Now being corrected in galley proof for the third time, the report pulls no punches in asserting that when it comes to bringing pressure on Congress those "interests which are best organized, best financed," and have "easiest access to the mass media of communication" have a head start. Organized business can profit most from lobbying because organized business "has these things in greatest abundance." The committee decided there was no impropriety in the activities of labor and liberal lobbyists, which are well defined, fully reported, and completely above-board, but it found abuses in the activities of many business lobbyists, and flatly rejected the theory that competition among pressure groups balances efforts for and against specific legislative proposals.

A first draft of the report, prepared by Edgar Lane, a Princeton instructor in government, said bluntly that interests "with the most to protect and the most to spend for protection" naturally defend lobbying on the ground that other groups have the same right to exert pressure. But this argument, it added, was "not unlike the elephant shouting 'Everybody for himself' as he stomps up and down among the chickens." It was language such as this that aroused the protests of the Republicans, and very possibly will bring a minority report, but Chairman Buchanan and his Democratic colleagues have refused to water down their statements except in minor details.

In vigorous, frequently sardonic language the report severely criticizes such organizations as the Committee for Constitutional Government, the National Association of Manufacturers, and the Foundation for Economic Education. It accuses some of them of subterfuge and evasion of the spirit if not the letter of the lobby-registration law, and it exposes the exact nature of some of the evasions.

Of the Committee for Constitutional Government and its executive director, Edward A. Rumely, who has been cited for contempt for refusing to disclose all his organization's sources of revenue, the report says, "For all his posturing as a man of the people, the fact remains that Rumely and his organization are living on the largess of a few rich men." Rumely admitted to the committee that the C. C. G. refused to accept contributions of more than $490 because contributions of $500 and up must be reported to Congress; he declined to disclose the names of individuals and corporations from whom much larger financial support was obtained through the sale to them of books, pamphlets, and other anti-Fair Deal literature.

Of the operations of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, the present draft of the report says that in collecting money the "velvet glove worn by the national association neatly conceals the iron hand" of the local affiliates. With respect to Leonard E. Read and the Foundation for Economic Education, it says that half-truths and oversimplifications about the foundation's sources of revenue cannot hide the fact that twenty persons contribute more than half of the gifts from individuals and that twenty "concerns" contribute 68 per cent of the receipts from business firms and foundations.

Merwin K. Hart's National Economic Council, which plays much the same tune as the Read and Rumely outfits, gets substantial funds from people like the du Ponts who buy subscriptions to the council's "literature." The report questions the "propriety of claiming charitable contributions of $10 each to churches, colleges, and libraries for subsidizing anonymous mailings of extreme political and economic propaganda." Of $31,513 given by the du Ponts to the National Economic Council, $24,000 was for such anonymous mailings.

The report does not delve deeply into the National Association of Manufacturers, which is attacking the constitutionality of the lobby-registration requirements, but it charges that the N. A. M. carefully misread Congressional intent when it reported that only 1.97 per cent of its $4,300,000 budget—or $86,000—was for influencing legislation, although in 1948 it spent $395,850, "largely on advertising," to defeat the OPA. "Where there is nothing to fear there is nothing to hide," the report remarks.

It was obvious some months ago that the Republicans scented danger when Buchanan went to work. They named two of the party's big guns, Representatives Halleck of Indiana and Brown of Ohio, minority members of the committee. Printed transcripts of the hear-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ings reveal that Halleck and Brown did their best to protect the anti-Fair Deal lobbyists by friendly questions and by frequent suggestions that "lobbying" by the Executive Department was really more pernicious than private lobbying.

Buchanan, a deceptively mild-mannered man, patiently built up his case. He investigated the alleged "lobbying" purposes of a trip to England by Federal Security Administrator Oscar Ewing ("socialized medicine propaganda," charged the Republicans); and the report clears Ewing. "Modern administration is conducted in a goldfish bowl," the report says, and close public scrutiny allows a "very real check on improper activities" by government agencies.

By plodding, unspectacular work Buchanan enriched the record of the committee with such exhibits as the letter from the president of a Detroit Real Estate Board suggesting that the fight against rent control might be advanced "if we could parade a few small property-owners around the country, a little bedraggled and run down at the heels." The report notes that Rumely's announced aim is to get into "every fifth home in the nation" a copy of John T. Flynn's "The Road Ahead," which it describes as a "moody panegyric to the eighteenth century." It comments on the manner in which anti-Fair Deal groups fall into a loose coordination of effort.

Naturally the Republicans did not want to cite Rumely for contempt when, pleading freedom of the press, he refused to disclose the names of those who purchased his "literature." And naturally they do not want to sign a report criticizing the "educational" activities of those whose entire efforts are designed to support the views of the most extreme conservatives in the Republican Party. But they cannot prevent publication of the majority report exposing the new pattern of the lobbyists. Buchanan and his colleagues have done a first-rate job.

The Vote on China

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Flushing Meadow, September 22

THE opening week of the General Assembly came up to expectations. From the first day the meetings were lively and interesting; there was a sense of the gravity of the moment, a recognition on both sides that a false move would have more far-reaching consequences and be harder to correct than had been the case in previous Assemblies. Then the illusion prevailed that the cold war could go on for a long while without leading to real war; now war had come, and the organization created to preserve peace was meeting in the midst of the war, to lay down a policy which would either settle or extend it.

As was inevitable, the question of China's representation was the first item. Vishinsky presented the case for the admission of Communist China calmly, effectively, and with humor. Cleverly he countered the arguments of the State Department by playing off the Acheson of today against the Acheson of yesterday. The American Secretary of State replied in generalities, with much less than his usual skill.

Vishinsky's speeches were listened to by some with hope, by others with distrust and skepticism. What gave them importance was not their general tone of moderation but their emphasis on the need of reestablishing the unanimity of the five permanent members of the Security Council. Three times Vishinsky insisted that this was the chief point of his renewed peace proposals. But to give substance to these proposals Russia would have to take a long step forward. In order to ease the present international tension and break down the barrier of suspicion that prevents serious consideration of its offers, it would have to fill in the outlines of the suggested Big Five pact with concrete, clearly defined terms. It would have to show that it was ready to be not only moderate in language but conciliatory in action. In my view that is the only way to emerge from the present impasse; the initiative can only come from Russia.

The Kremlin should be encouraged to follow this course by the extremely significant vote on China taken on the opening day of the Assembly. When the chief Indian delegate, Sir Benegal N. Rau, introduced a resolution asking for an immediate invitation to the Chinese Communists, it was clear that India would take every opportunity to confront the Assembly with this issue and that it believed the whole future of the U. N. depended on reaching a solution. (The vote on the Indian resolution was thirty-three against, sixteen in favor, with ten abstentions.) Pandit Nehru in his recent statements has been categorical on this point. The absence of Communist China from the United Nations, he has said, leaves a nation of 450,000,000 people, a permanent member of the Security Council, without genuine representation, at the same time exposing Asia to the constant danger of a general conflagration. Moreover, in the opinion of the New Delhi government, military victory in Korea need not necessarily precede an attempt to arrange a settlement, and a prerequisite of any realistic settlement is the inclusion of Communist China in the United Nations. The most significant fact about the action last Tuesday was that the leadership was in the hands of a country whose position is firm and consistent and not subject to any "softening" process. We have been accustomed at Lake Success to see diplomatic pressure used to silence or delay a delegate who wished to raise some awkward issue, but that cannot happen in the case of India.

It is important, too, to realize that no future efforts can chip away the support India rallied on the China

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

issue. The vote was not a "static" one, but it represents a tendency which will grow rather than recede. Great Britain has its own ideas about what should be the policy of the Western powers in Asia and would push them more strongly at Flushing Meadow if it were not reluctant to oppose Washington. As to the three Scandinavian countries, which were also on the "yes" list, their Socialist governments are militantly anti-Communist, and their action was for that reason most significant. The other small powers were naturally influenced by it, even those that abstained.

At the head of the abstaining group was France. The real views of France on this question were clearly revealed in the comments of the conservative *Monde* on September 13, when M. Chauvel, French representative in the Security Council, voted in favor of the Soviet proposal to invite Communist China to participate in the discussion of the alleged bombing of Manchurian soil. After affirming that "France has voted for common sense," *Le Monde* added, "Once again Peking has been denied the opportunity of a contact with the West which could only have been salutary." If the government of Mao Tse-tung proceeds cautiously with respect to Indo-China, it seems inevitable that two of the Big Three will eventually be among those voting for the admission of Communist China.

It was also interesting to find the Arab states among the abstainers. Evidently the fear of war is as strong in the Middle East, despite existing local rivalries, as in Scandinavia, and there is a growing recognition of the fact—which only wishful thinking could deny—that the Western powers cannot at present effectively defend all the areas assumed to be threatened by attack.

The motives governing the various countries in this fascinating vote differed widely. Some were abstract—a realization that Asia's problems today are not at all comparable to Europe's problems and must be handled with imagination, that a comprehensive historical approach must be combined with a new political and diplomatic strategy. Some were largely practical. The reluctance of some delegates to take a position too hostile to Peking and Moscow was increased by persistent rumors, better founded apparently than those current in the early days of the last Assembly, that talks aimed at possible negotiations for an East-West settlement were going on behind the scenes.

From the very beginning the direction of the Atlantic coalition has naturally been concentrated in the United States. But even the firmest direction must take account of differences of opinion and interests among the members of a coalition. This was done when Mr. Truman made his important announcement about Formosa in opposition to MacArthur. It will be done again when Communist China is admitted to the United Nations, as the logic of events makes almost inevitable before the present Assembly closes.

The Danes Stand Pat

BY ERLING BJOL

NORMALLY general elections in a tiny European country with a population of only four million would have little international significance. In the present world situation the elections for the Folketing (lower house) in Denmark on September 5 and the protracted government crisis which followed may deserve some attention.

It happened to be the first general election to be held in any European country since the outbreak of the Korean war, and the government crisis which made it necessary was closely related to some aspects of American foreign policy, the liberalization of European trade, and the new drive for European rearmament. The results may therefore give some idea of the European reaction to American foreign policy in this turbulent summer. Denmark, of course, is geographically the most exposed of all the members of the Atlantic Pact.

Since the autumn of 1947 Denmark has had a Socialist minority government, the Social Democrats being the largest party in the Folketing, but having only 57 out of 149 seats. They carried out a reasonably successful job of reconstruction, but unlike the Socialist governments in Britain, Norway, and Sweden could never master a majority for an orthodox Socialist policy. With the decision of the Office of European Economic Cooperation to liberalize inter-European trade, the government got into trouble. Liberalization of import regulations rapidly created a deficit in foreign trade, particularly since international price developments were unfavorable for Denmark. To turn the tide the Socialists decided to put back under import control what they considered to be unimportant items. The anti-Socialist majority refused to go along, justifying their course by the decision of the O. E. E. C.

Simultaneously the question of rearmament was brought up, and the Radical Liberal Party, on whose ten members the government had been able to count for support on much internal legislation, was reluctant to follow the Socialists in responding to the American appeal.

It was under the Socialist government that Denmark broke a long tradition of neutrality and isolationism and joined the Atlantic Pact despite opposition from the liberals, who are otherwise to the right of the Socialists —and of course from the Communists. On September 5 the people had their first chance to express their views on this vital issue. The results indicated that Europe was less scared by the American defeats in Korea than by Communist aggression. The Radical Liberal Party based its appeal on its anti-rearmament and neutrality record, and it did increase its representation from ten

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to twelve. But the Communists lost two seats, obtaining only seven in the new House. Since by and large the rest of the parties favored the new foreign policy, it seems safe to conclude that the overwhelming majority of Danes—despite the closeness of their country to the Russians, who are just across the Baltic in eastern Germany, and despite American setbacks in Korea coinciding with the election—approve of the Atlantic orientation and are untouched by the desire for neutrality which is considered an important political factor in France and Germany.

It is surprising that the Socialists held their own, and even increased their representation from fifty-seven to fifty-nine, since the rank and file had been ill prepared for the decisive change in foreign and military policy. The success can probably be explained by the people's confidence in the vigorous young leaders who came out of the resistance movement to lead the party when the war ended—Hans Hedtoft, the Prime Minister, and H. C. Hansen, the Minister of Finance. The major shift in the Folketing occurred between the right-wing parties. The Agrarians lost heavily to the Conservatives, but actually this is of little international significance. The shift was mainly due to a change of leadership in both parties which caused the Conservatives to become the chief advocates of a revision of the Danish-German frontier, to which the Socialists are opposed.

More interesting perhaps is the astonishing success of the so-called Single Taxers, a quaint relic of the Henry George movement. Promising just about everything to everybody, this group increased the number of its representatives from six to twelve. Apparently even in so stable a democracy as Denmark demagogues can carve considerable success out of the frustrations of a people suffering economic hardships and squeezed between two great power blocs.

Though the balloting produced a deadlock—the traditional Socialist-Radical coalition getting seventy-one members and the three right-wing parties also seventy-one, with the Communists holding the balance—the Socialist government after a prolonged crisis agreed to continue alone. It has not been able to obtain the support of the Radicals on rearmament or that of the Agrarians on trade policy. This will undoubtedly mean new concessions to the right-wing opposition, from which eventually the Communists may benefit.

SIGN LOW'S PEACE PETITION
① REDUCE ALL ARMIES TO SIZE OF OURS
② BAN ATOM BOMB AND HAVE INSPECTORS TO SEE IT STAYS BANNED
③ STOP CENSORSHIP AND CALLING OTHER PEOPLE DIRTY NAMES
④ SCRAP IRON CURTAINS AND LET PEOPLE MEET AND BE FRIENDLY
NO!
LOW

London *Daily Herald*

Indian Summer Daydream

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

British Worries About Korea

BY FENNER BROCKWAY

London

MOST British people instinctively and instantly decided, when North Korean forces crossed the Thirty-eighth Parallel, that the invaders must be resisted. The lessons of the events which preceded the last world war have been learned. We know that if the first act of aggression is not met, it will be followed by others until a general conflict becomes inevitable.

But, this acknowledged, doubts about many phases of the Korean conflict loom large in the minds of British progressives and Socialists. It would have been easy if North Korea had been a cruel Communist police state and if South Korea had been a tolerant liberal democratic state. But this is not so.

North Korea is a police state, both cruel and efficient; but South Korea has also been a police state—if not so efficient, certainly often as cruel. There may have been something to choose between them politically, but not much. And on the social and economic sides the advantages have been with the North Koreans. Some of Roosevelt's New Dealers did a good job in stimulating the redistribution of land in South Korea, but social and economic equality has gone much farther in the North.

Nor can we close our eyes to the fact that socially we are fighting against history in obstructing the extension of the Communist revolution from North to South Korea. That revolution has swept over the whole mainland of Asia east of Burma and Malaya, and it is impossible that southern Korea should be isolated from it.

Thus we are faced by the paradox that while we are serving history in resisting the extension of war, we are challenging history in resisting the extension of the Asian revolution. Our action can be justified only if its purpose is limited to the first object. This is the reason why many Britishers feel American intervention in Formosa is so fatal. It assists rather than checks the tendencies toward world war. And it changes the significance of the action in Korea from resistance to aggression to resistance to the Asian revolution.

America's attitude toward the People's Republic in China made many of us uneasy from the first. The British Labor government recognized the government of the republic because there was no doubt that it is the effective administrative authority and is preferred by the Chinese people to the corrupt Chiang Kai-shek regime. The intervention of General MacArthur in behalf of Chiang Kai-shek created great anxiety in Britain, which even President Truman's subsequent statement has not entirely allayed. We are fearful lest American support of the Nationalists may lead to war between America and the Chinese People's Republic. Should this happen, a considerable body of progressive opinion in Britain which supports the United Nations action in Korea would feel it their duty to oppose further British cooperation with America. They would find no justification for Britain's siding with America in a war arising from intervention against the government of China. This would lead to a serious division of opinion. The Tories would undoubtedly side with America, and some right-wing Labor elements might also do so; but it is doubtful whether the Labor Party as a whole would take this course.

In addition to the political question, we should have to consider the effect upon British influence in Asia. Right away we should lose the sympathy of India, Pakistan, and Ceylon. India, particularly, has a sense of close identity with the People's Republic in China, and a British declaration of war upon China would inevitably mean that Nehru would take his country out of the British Commonwealth. The issue would in fact be whether Britain places its alliance with America before the unity of the Commonwealth. The second consequence of Britain's participation in a war against China would be the loss of Malaya and Singapore, which are important both to America and to Britain as sources of tin and rubber—indeed, Malaya has earned more dollars for Britain than have exports from Britain itself.

Already Britain is engaged in a conflict with a large part of the Chinese population in Malaya acting under Communist direction. The Chinese form 40 per cent of the population, and it is only because the Malayans and Indians have little sympathy with their purpose and methods that the events in Malaya can be described as a Communist revolt rather than as a war of independence. If Britain were at war with China, Malaya would be overrun by Chinese red armies and Singapore could not be held. Because our military realists understand this and the danger to all southeastern Asia which war with China would bring, they are as strongly opposed to the extension of the Korean conflict to China as is the more progressive section of the British people.

The attitude of the French government has not yet been made clear, but it must be as nervous for Indo-China as the British are for Malaya. It is probably true

---

FENNER BROCKWAY, editor, author, and pampleteer, was for many years General Secretary of the British Independent Labor Party. He is now a Labor member of Parliament.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that the Communists in Indo-China have the majority of the people behind them. If China were at war with France, Indo-China would certainly be lost.

In the background of these events is the danger that war with China would lead eventually to a war with Russia. I should not expect Russia to intervene immediately, but what has happened in Korea proves that a military campaign in China itself would be of long duration, and would have a seriously weakening effect upon the forces of the Western powers. Russia would probably bide its time and intervene only when Western strength had been so sapped that it could do so with some assurance of success.

These are the fears that are in the minds of many of us as we face the possibility of a conflict between America and China. We have supported the United Nations against aggression in Korea, but our support is limited to that and cannot be counted on if, as a result of American action at Formosa, the war is turned from military resistance to aggression into military resistance to communism. It is not in this way that communism will be defeated. If the peoples of Asia are to be won from communism, we must prove that under political democracy we can combine social well-being with liberty. Perhaps the most disturbing feature of the general increase of expenditure for armaments is the fact that we are all compelled to spend less for lifting the living standards of the peoples of our own and other lands.

Migrants: Inquiry or Inquest?

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

Los Angeles, September 19

THE Commission on Migratory Labor appointed by the President on June 3, 1950, has now completed its hearing and plans to issue a report by the end of the year. The latest of a long series of inquiries, this one has echoed with familiar descriptions of the miserable conditions under which 1,500,000 American migrants live and work: "Seems like," said one migrant worker, "of all the forgottenest people, we're the most forgottenest." Three aspects of the problem, however, have been brought into somewhat sharper focus than heretofore—the Mexican or "wetback" invasion, the status of "stoop" labor (work that a man must stoop down to), and the question of subsidies.

Every year thousands of Mexicans wade or swim across the Rio Grande—hence the name wetbacks—to work in the border states. The push of their poverty and the pull of the higher wages paid in this country have been strengthened by illicit overtures from American farmers and labor contractors and lately by the systematic importation of a certain number of Mexican nationals under an agreement between the two governments. Formerly the wetbacks kept pretty much to agricultural employment, but today they are working as carpenters, masons, electricians, tractor drivers, and cooks, and are exerting a depressing influence on wages and living conditions. No one knows their exact number, but 167,370 were deported from California in 1949 and 138,844 in the first seven months of this year. The wetbacks themselves are the chief victims of the system. Some pay as much as $250 to be smuggled into the United States—or, rather, they go into debt to contractors for the fee. In areas immediately north of the border growers have manipulated the law to hold them for their own exclusive use; a recent ordinance in the Imperial Valley makes it illegal for "wildcat" taxi operators to transport Mexican farm workers to points outside the valley.

The Immigration Service has approximately one inspector for each mile of the border between California and Mexico, but with ten times as many it could not keep the migrants out. In hearings at Phoenix three immigration inspectors testified that the growers each year send "pressure groups" to Washington and that word soon comes from "higher authorities" to stop the deportation of illegal entrants until the harvest season is over. The Immigration Service is really used as a faucet to turn the influx of cheap labor off and on as circumstances require.

The problem has been greatly complicated by the "legal" importation of Mexican *braceros*. Last year about 100,000 Mexican nationals worked in the Western states under conditions stabilized by contract, enjoying in some cases protections and guaranties denied local citizens. Employers do not conceal their reasons for preferring this labor: the *braceros* are used not only to keep farm wages down but as a source of "controlled" or "standby" labor in the event of a strike. These advantages offset the extra expense and red tape connected with the employment of a limited number of legally recruited imported workers.

The stoop-labor issue is as old as the produce industry in the Southwest. American workers, it is alleged, will not do work for which they must stoop or kneel;

CAREY McWILLIAMS is a staff contributor whose special interests are migratory farm labor, racial minorities in this country, and California politics. He is the author of "North from Mexico," "A Mask for Privilege," and other books.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

actually work of this kind is not suited to family labor—women and children can pick some fruit crops, but they cannot cut asparagus or thin sugar beets. Moreover, many stoop-labor jobs demand so much skill that it costs from $75 to $100 to train a worker. Growers, therefore, will employ only men who can be compelled to return to the same job year after year—that is, workers isolated from the general labor market. For this reason "foreigners" are considered desirable, especially those who are "imported" and then "deported," since this insures their isolation. A clear preference is shown for workers who can be employed under contract, either through some official agency in Puerto Rico or Mexico or, more commonly, through a labor contractor. Contractors are often paid $1 per worker per day to recruit this type of labor; when they undertake to plant, cultivate, and harvest a crop, they may receive 12 per cent of the pay roll. As additional compensation for controlling or policing the stoop laborers, the contractor is often permitted to conduct various rackets, such as gambling and prostitution.

A great effort is made to keep stoop laborers earmarked for particular jobs. To this end the myth is cultivated that only certain types of workers will perform certain tasks. Such talk serves not only to rationalize the use of cheap labor but to increase the isolation of the imported group, which is further set apart by the low status of the work to which it is restricted. The policy, of course, stimulates racial and national prejudices. Wherever the President's Commission held hearings—in Texas, Arizona, California, Colorado, Michigan, Florida, or New Jersey—certain jobs were found to be earmarked for the foreign or alien worker. In the Southwest if you "stoop" you are a Mexican, even though your name is O'Brien.

The trouble with subsidies is quite simple but is still unrecognized in official circles. Present farm-support programs of all types benefit chiefly commercial growers: 2 per cent of American farmers in 1945 sold 25 per cent of the value of all farm products; half the country's farmers sold only 10 per cent. The commercial grower receives direct subsidies in the form of parity payments, indirect subsidies in the form of government aid in the recruitment and use of cheap labor which family-type farmers cannot employ.

Even while migratory labor is being once more investigated, the problem is rapidly, and brutally, solving itself. This season nearly 90 per cent of California's $45,000,000 beet crop was harvested by mechanical pickers. About 25 per cent of the state's cotton crop is being picked by machine this year as against 1½ per cent in 1947; probably 80 per cent will be picked by machine by 1954. Mechanical beet and cotton pickers, however, are comparatively old-fashioned gadgets. The talk of the industry is the new "electronic crop thinner," or robot hoe, which thins and weeds crops faster than twenty workers could do it. Then there are the new chemical products exhibited by the American Cyanamide Company in May which eliminate the labor used in such operations as weeding crab grass from onion fields—hand weeding often costs $50 an acre. Within a decade the major farm tasks now done by migratory labor will probably all be mechanized. This will not be particularly comforting news to our "forgottenest people"; in fact, it makes one wonder whether the recent hearings of the President's commission were an inquiry or an inquest.

Notes from Paris

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, September 22

THE French are still against German rearmament and German units in a "European army," but now that Mr. Bevin has consented in principle they will give way. In fact, M. Schuman, despite the opposition he has been expressing in New York, has for some time been cautiously preparing French opinion to accept "the inevitable." De Gaullist and "Vichyite" opinion has come around, and most people—except the Communists, unorganized individuals who have bad memories of the Occupation, and some intellectuals—may be said to have become pretty cynical about the whole thing. No doubt the Americans will be expected to work out certain "guaranties of security" as a sop to persisting French prejudices, but after that there will be plain sailing.

A big impression has been made in France by the appointment of General Marshall to replace Louis Johnson and, of course, by the turn of the tide in Korea. The Marshall appointment has been welcomed above all as signifying the defeat of the American advocates of preventive war. The French press has emphasized this so strongly that the Communists, whose "peace campaign" was benefiting tremendously from the insanities of Matthews, Spaatz, Johnson, and the other "wipe-out-Russia" maniacs, have become thoroughly alarmed, and Pierre Courtade, in an impassioned article in *L'Humanité*, has warned his readers not to be deceived. The fact that Marshall was "smooth, slick, and diplomatic," Courtade said, made him all the more dangerous as the "chief organizer of the anti-Soviet war." Until further notice, however, millions of Frenchmen will feel greatly relieved by the elimination of men whose disregard for the wishes, the interests, and the very life of Western Europe was complete.

The seemingly inevitable defeat of the North Koreans is regarded here as primarily due to American naval and air power—two fields in which the North Koreans were hopelessly outclassed. Reflections about the "ineffectiveness of air power in the Korean war" have been cut short. But now what? Is Syngman Rhee to be reinstated

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

at Seoul and allowed to shed more blood to swell the torrents that flowed after 24,000 tons of bombs were dropped in the name of the U. N.? Or will a serious attempt be made to take into account the real wishes of the Korean people?

At the U. N. Assembly, Vishinsky will no doubt talk peace in a big way, but the fact that the war waged by the North Koreans, though it was, in Leninist terms, a "just war," received only "moral support" from Russia will make others who are ready to "shake off the fetters of imperialism" think twice before starting anything.

While Moscow's stock will not have risen in Asia as a result of the Korean war, Asia's hatred of the West, unless the United States adopts a new approach, will be intensified—though it will no longer be mixed with that contempt which Communist propaganda did its utmost to cultivate. The question asked in France with a variety of intonations is whether the Americans, after their Korean victory, will prepare to embark on a war of extermination against the Vietnam Republic. Or will an attempt first be made to find out what the desires of the Vietnamese people really are?

BESIDE THE POINT

I DON'T know who invented the device of counting sheep jumping over a fence as a way of getting to sleep nights, but he was either a city slicker who knew nothing about the sheep business or, more likely, a cattleman who was trying to drive some sheepman crazy. I'm only a sheepman's daughter, but I've had it in for him ever since the one and only time I was fool enough to try his trick.

I should have known better. But I had "gone East," I was not long out of college, and my head was full of pastoral poetry. Shepherds in rhyme had dimmed my memory of sheepherders in Idaho, and I was so charmed by the gamboling of lambs on literary turf that my parent's bitter remarks about the folly of gambling *in* lambs on the Western range had dropped right out of my mind.

And right into my unconscious. I hadn't counted ten sheep jumping over a fence before I jumped out of bed, started calling the sheep dogs, and reached for a checkbook. I've known dry farmers whose only cash income consisted of the ransom they collected for sheep that had strayed into their barren fields. A few thousand sheep passing along a two-strand fence can run up a lot of fines, and sheepherders, in such circumstances, have been heard to cuss the sheep almost as much as they cussed the dry farmer.

When the dogs failed to appear and I found a Yale lock on the sheep-camp door I realized that I was three thousand miles east of Idaho—think of the freight charges on *that* haul—and that there were no sheep within miles except for those sissies in Central Park. I crawled back into bed rather sheepishly, but by that time the creatures had got completely out of control and were leaping over the fence not singly but in pairs.

The lambs were just going under, leaving tufts of wool on the barbed wire. And I was off again. But not to sleep. It was lambing time. March had come in like a lion and the lambs were going out like lights. We lost some ewes too, and we had a lot of trouble placing the orphans.

That ordeal was over by three o'clock—but the shearing was still to come, and the spring went right on being the coldest we'd had since the year before.

By five I was relatively calm. The shearing had gone pretty well, and I had figured out that there would be enough cash to get the family through another winter—enough, that is, if prices didn't hit a new low the day I got the beasts into Omaha, where West meets East as far as spring lambs are concerned.

I arrived in Omaha at six and was counting sheep going through a runway when the milkman arrived. Like most milkmen he was a xylophonist who had missed his calling. He had obviously determined that his customers should never miss his calling, and what he could do with three milk bottles and a wire basket was really remarkable.

At least he took my mind off sheep. That was something, and after he'd trailed an arpeggio down four flights of stairs and slammed the front door in a rousing finale, I settled down for a good morning nap. But the first thing I knew I was counting cows, and unfortunately I knew something about the cattle business too. These brutes had found a hole in the fence of the lower forty, which is planted to alfalfa, and several of them were already bloated. I was running for help when I crashed into the kitchen door and knocked myself out.

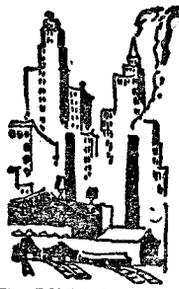
It was the first sleep I'd had all night and I was truly grateful. I was glad, too, that the milkman had left his horse downstairs. Otherwise the place would have been overrun with livestock, and there wasn't room in my apartment anyway for a horse to jump.

You can see why I gave up counting sheep.

I've tried other devices since I became an intellectual, started lying awake at night, and learned the bitter truth of the old saying, "Cogito, ergo insomnia." And four or five years ago I actually found one that worked. I trained myself to think of nothing. It was not only effective but pleasant, and I look back on that period with genuine nostalgia. But it was too good to last. One evening, unwittingly, I picked up an article on existentialism. It was fascinating; but Nothing, with Soren Kierkegaard, Martin Heidegger, Albert Camus, Simone de Beauvoir, and Jean Paul Sartre jumping over it, has never been the same since.

M. M.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Attlee's Case on Steel

DISTILLING the essence of the case against the nationalization of British steel from the bubbling brew of Tory invective, we discover two arguments, or, more accurately, assertions. It is charged that both the act of 1949, which provided for public ownership of the industry, and the Labor government's newly announced decision to implement this measure at the earliest legal date have been inspired by purely doctrinaire considerations. What is more, Tory commentators declare, without producing a shred of evidence to support the statement, that Prime Minister Attlee and other "moderate" members of the Cabinet never favored nationalization of steel and have reluctantly gone ahead with the project in order to appease left-wing theorists. Secondly, it is contended that the British steel industry is thoroughly efficient, enjoys good labor relations, and has fulfilled all production targets. Why, then, the critics ask, should it be attacked, especially at a time when its continued smooth operation is vital to the rearmament program?

Since these assertions are being parroted *ad nauseam* in the American press, while little or no space is given to the government's defense of its policy, I propose to recapitulate briefly some of the reasons why the British Labor Party has persisted in its plans for placing the steel industry under public ownership. That case is based not on a theory but on a condition—a condition of monopoly which in its present highly complicated form dates back to 1934, when the Tory-dominated government of the day sought to revive a depressed, obsolete, and inefficient steel industry with a generous dose of tariff protection. In return for this boon the steelmasters were asked to produce a voluntary plan for the economic rationalization and technical rehabilitation of their industry. Instead, the "Reorganization Committee" to which this task was assigned concocted a design for a tight cartel, a scheme for pulling together the many existing trade organizations in the industry under the leadership of the British Iron and Steel Federation. Incredibly enough, the government gave its blessing to the proposal, and the federation henceforth policed the industry in the interest of producers and with very little regard for consumers.

The comments of three of the most technically progressive British steel executives on this *Ersatz* reorganization are illuminating. Sir Richard Firth—who was to be forced out of Richard Thomas and Company because his plans for installing a continuous rolling mill threatened the existence of many old-fashioned plants—said that the scheme was "devoid of any factor which can bring about a reduction of costs." Mr. Henry Summers, of John Summers and Company, asserted that "the main objectives . . . were to bolster up redundant and obsolete plant, and by rings and quotas to put up the cost to the consumer." Finally, Mr. L. D. Whitehead, chairman of the Whitehead Iron and Steel Company, accused the Reorganization Committee of seeking to instal "a kind of Soviet in London," with the intention of preventing "an increase in production and, in the case of many of our most efficient plants, actually to effect a reduction."

The stimulus of high prices and profits did in fact lead in the late thirties to some expansion of the industry and to modernization of some of its facilities. But its capacity proved quite inadequate to Britain's war-time needs, while the omnipotent federation succeeded in imposing price policies which, according to the 1941 report of the Auditor-General, gave the industry as a whole "a higher rate of profit than that normally allowed under the Ministry's costed contract."

It was in the light of such experiences that the Labor Party included in its 1945 election program a promise to nationalize the steel industry. Faced by this prospect, the British Iron and Steel Federation produced an eight-year plan for revamping the industry, improving its technical efficiency, and increasing output. This scheme, which of course assumed continued private ownership, was open to two major objections. It envisaged too modest an expansion of capacity in view of Britain's full-employment policy, domestic investment program, and need to push steel-consuming engineering exports. The second objection was voiced by John Wilmot, then Minister of Supply, during a House of Commons debate in May, 1946. "The federation's plan," he pointed out, "presupposes throughout that there is a control authority with effective powers to carry this grand plan through. . . . The plan involves not only the erection of new plants but the scrapping of old plants, and that not on a small scale. . . . It means great and drastic changes in the livelihood and social life of whole areas of our country. The government . . . feel most strongly that this power should not be in the hands of a private trade association but can only be exercised by some public authority responsible to this House."

Now let us turn to the question of the industry's present efficiency, for which great claims are being made. Undoubtedly it has succeeded in pushing up output, although it is still far from meeting Britain's needs, and, thanks partly to tight government control and partly to devaluation, its price structure compares favorably with that of most other countries. Labor spokesmen claim that the threat of nationalization has had a tonic effect. As Aneurin Bevan put it at the Labor Party's annual conference in 1948, "Never was there a better example of the virtues of socialism. Workers in the industry are producing steel in the hope of socialism and employers in the fear of it." Whether or not the second half of this jest contains a germ of truth, it is undeniable that the workers of the industry have put their hearts as well as their backs into production. Their union, the Iron and Steel Confederation, which has been agitating for nationalization since 1932, agreed in 1948 to change its rules so as to make possible continuous seven-days-a-week operation of the steel-smelting shops. Their objective was both to contribute to the solution of Britain's production problems and to insure that the industry was kept in good shape prior to its transfer to public ownership. I have yet to see this fact mentioned by American critics of nationalization.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Essays and Asides

COMEDY AND THE HALF-TRUTH

BY JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

THERE are more theories of comedy than there are of tragedy, and that means, I suppose, that comedy is the more complicated of the two. Certainly it is not so widely accessible as tragedy, for the simple reason that whereas every man is capable on occasion of feeling himself great, there are many who can never think of themselves as ridiculous. Obviously, therefore, they can never know what comedy is about.

I have no intention of adding one more theory, but there is a fundamental question which I do not remember ever seeing so much as raised. What is the dividing line between comedy of the sharpest, most robustious kind, and mere cruelty or cynicism? Some men, Shelley for example, have been simply unable to understand how comedy, as distinguished from philistinism or brutality, could possible exist. And they have often been proud, as Shelley was, that they could not.

I take it for granted that the two things are, as it were, adjacent though perhaps not actually kin, since comedy is always a protest against some sort of idealism or sentimentality. I don't know who first defined it as "the kiss given to common sense behind the back of respectability," but that is the best definition ever produced. Yet the distinction I have in mind is not made. All comedy is anti-idealistic, but not all anti-idealism is comic.

Tragedy can exist without any awareness of comedy, but the best comedy always implies an acknowledgment of tragedy's valid claims. Indeed, the very greatest and most monumental comedies —Chaucer's "Troilus," "Don Quixote," "Henry IV," and Mozart's "Don Giovanni"—even include a statement of those claims, and it is curious that all four balance a spokesman for the comic against a spokesman for its opposite—Pandarus against Troilus, Sancho Panza against Quixote, Falstaff against Hotspur and, ultimately, against Prince Hal, Donna Elvira against Leporello. The concept of honor cannot be deflated unless it is understood.

An epigram is a comedy in miniature, and the wisecrack, now so much more frequently cultivated, is usually a farce reduced to the same scale. The brevity of each makes it manageable in such a discussion as this, and each raises the same question that comedy does. Notoriously many of the most telling epigrams are in the form of insults, and the sharper they become the more open is the question they raise.

When Samuel Johnson remarks that "the Irish are a fair people—they never speak well of one another," the sense of fun obviously predominates over the malice. But when Rivarole stops on the street a notoriously bad poet whose pockets are bulging with manuscript and says solicitously, "You ought not go about like that; you might be robbed . . . by someone who does not know who you are," he is approaching the limit which Pope often notoriously overstepped. One needs to be at least a couple of centuries away to laugh wholeheartedly at the description of the poor pamphleteer who publishes his works, "compelled by hunger and request of friends." Almost as doubtful is the remark attributed to Talleyrand: "M. Châteaubriand believes that he is deaf because he no longer hears people talk about him."

But the question is most acute when the epigram is not an insult to an individual but to some whole area of idealism, so that comedy becomes something which may be mistaken for, may in some cases actually be, mere cynicism. And without attempting to judge, I should like to give some examples which raise a question with ever-increasing insistence. Only the over-sensitive are likely to be offended by the parody of Lincoln which goes: "God must love the rich people—look at all the money he gives them"; only a fanatical prohibitionist or a fanatical dog lover would be pained by the story of the traveler lost in the Alps who exclaims when he sees approaching the conventionally accoutered St. Bernard: "Here comes man's best friend—and a dog." But Mark Twain, who was, in his more biting moods, a master of the ambiguous tone, probably offended many admirers by writing in a little girl's autograph book: "Truth is our most precious possession; let us, therefore, be as economical as possible in our use of it."

Mr. Mencken, who is in certain respects rather more like Mark Twain than is generally recognized, is probably the most distinguished contemporary example of a comic writer who seems, at times at least, to cease to be comic at all because he no longer recognizes the reality of comedy's opponent. "Conscience," he once wrote, "is that still small voice which whispers, 'Somebody may be looking,'" and it remains a delicate question whether that is comic or merely cynical. But I think the finest problem of all is presented by the remark said to have been made by Louis Philippe to the dying Talleyrand. As Louis Philippe approached the bedside, Talleyrand complained that he was "suffering the tortures of the damned." Louis Philippe raised his eyebrows. "Already?" he asked.

It has been said that an epigram is "a half-truth so stated as to be peculiarly irritating to those who believe the other half." That will do for comedy also, and with a little extension it may serve to illuminate the question we have been raising. Perhaps no statements outside of Euclid ever give more than half a truth—which is, as a matter of fact, quite a large fraction to be encompassed by the human capacity for either understanding or statement. But comedy knows that it has stated no more than half the truth, while cynicism, like earnestness and perhaps like even tragedy itself, seems quite unaware of the fact that it has not presented the whole.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On Teaching

THE ART OF TEACHING. By Gilbert Highet. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

MR. HIGHET, who has taught classical literature at the University of Oxford and at Columbia University, has attempted to supply the want of a good book on the general principles of teaching. If there has been such a book it has been lost to sight among the prolix and jejune manuals compiled by what Paul Shorey used to call the talking delegates of educational science. Monographs on the teaching of specific subjects are sometimes better, and worth sifting for whatever may be usable in them, but they do not meet the need. Many stimulating ideas may be collected from the reminiscences of actual teachers—Bliss Perry, Lane Cooper, E. G. Sihler, E. L. Woodward, Anthony C. Deane, to name a few—who have described their own courses and devices and recalled the teachers whom they knew in their youth, but Mr. Highet has aimed at a more methodical treatment and a wider usefulness.

Brushing aside the bogus paraphernalia, documentation, and jargon of the educationists, he makes his book "one of suggestions drawn from practice." He has, of course, gone somewhat beyond his own experience to the biographies of great teachers and the testimony of some friendly informants; but it remains, to a greater degree than he appears to realize, a decidedly personal book, reflecting the experience of a teacher whose professional lines have fallen in pleasant, and well-insulated, places.

He assumes as fundamental that teaching is an art, not a science, and therefore both traditional and individual, ever changing, never reducible to a mere set of maxims and formulas, always to be exercised with a wide-awake sense of its joys and responsibilities. He seeks to determine those characteristics and methods of the good teacher which, no matter who or what is to be taught, are at all times efficient and proper.

The good teacher, he finds, must know—genuinely know, therefore like and study constantly—his subject, and must like and know his pupils. If he is to bring subject and pupils together successfully, he must know much else besides and cultivate a sense of humor as a universal solvent of difficulties. He needs an efficient memory, will power, and kindness. His work is divisible into preparation, communication, and fixing the impression, and these in turn are analyzable into further triads. Following this simple, unexciting outline, Mr. Highet puts into his two chapters on The Teacher and The Teacher's Methods a generous amount of sound, applicable sense, compactly expressed, about what teaching should be and could be. The prospective teacher who will read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest these two chapters will save himself time, money, and a dreadful dose of "professional reading" and will be—if he can put some of it into practice—better and happier. He will have some other things to learn, of course.

The remaining one hundred pages contain a long essay on Great Teachers and Their Pupils and a short one on Learning in Everyday Life. Readers to whom the subject matter is novel will find them engaging. The first is, however, desultory in more senses than one, skipping capriciously from the Sophists to Osler and Kittredge, and open to criticism in several matters of detail. The other deals with the truism that we all teach, just as we all talk prose. The idea is too diffuse for treatment in a few pages; at the end of the runway it is still on the ground.

A more serious defect, as has been suggested, is the book's failure to come to grips with the conditions—social, political, legal, administrative—that to a varying extent beset all but a small number of teachers and intrude even into the classroom. Mr. Highet has seen some ugly incidents in the schools of Glasgow, and has read and heard of what goes on in some public schools of the New York City system, but he appears to be hardly aware of some less spectacular but more widespread and significant evils. Only two of them does he so much as mention: low salaries, which could have been omitted, since only in extreme cases do they affect the quality of the teacher's work; and the fact that compulsory attendance laws have filled the public schools, and social custom many colleges, with a swarm of unteachables. The author's discussion of these problems is neither helpful nor fortunate in tone. His high-minded attitude toward the teacher's

FREUD

DICTIONARY OF PSYCHOANALYSIS

Edited by
Nandor Fodor and
Frank Gaynor
With a preface by
Theodor Reik

A HANDY one-volume glossary of all Freud's basic terms and concepts, defined and explained in his own words. The source is given in each case. Constantly useful for psychologists, psychiatrists, psychoanalysts, educators, scholars, and students. $3.75

"May well find its place on library shelves among other excellent recent volumes."

—V. C. Branham, M.D.
Chief, Outpatient Section
Psychiatry and Neurology Division
Veterans Administration, Wash., D.C.

PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY
Publishers
15 E. 40 St., Desk N,
New York 16, N. Y.
Expedite shipment by prepayment

Will you RETIRE YOUNG ENOUGH to enjoy it?

Do you really want to work all your life?

You can take life easy a lot sooner than you think. If you know where it costs less to live, and where you can earn a small income from a part-time business or job, you can afford to retire sooner, even now perhaps.

One of the best features of "Where to Retire on a Small Income" is that every town, city, or region described was selected because it offers opportunities to get part-time or seasonal jobs or to open a part-time business.

This book tells you where are the best places in the U. S. to retire. It covers Florida, California, New England, the South, the Pacific Northwest, etc. It also includes Hawaii, the American Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico.

With this book, you learn:

—where living costs, rents, and real estate are less (even where you can buy a farm for only $2500);
—where you can live inexpensively on an island far from the world, yet close to neighbors;
—where you can go fishing all year round; where you can go hunting, boating, swimming, and always have a good time;
—where your hobby will bring you an income;
—where you stand the best chance of living longer.

You'd spend months, plus hundreds of dollars if you searched for the hundreds of facts in this book by traveling around the country. But all these facts on little known beauty spots, America's favorite retirement areas, and many undiscovered towns, cities, and regions, are yours for just $1.

Sooner or later—now or in years to come—you will want to be independent. Order today, while you think of it. Money back, of course, if you're not satisfied.

Don't bother writing a letter. Simply tear out ad, print name and address, and mail with $1 bill to Harlan Publications, 1 First Ave., Greenlawn, New York.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vocation is wholesome and needed, but unless it is tempered with a harder sense of actuality it will lack bite and cutting edge.

GEORGE GENZMER

Down with the Gentleman!

THE GENTLEMAN AND THE JEW. By Maurice Samuel. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.75.

MAURICE SAMUEL is a gifted writer who has given us some very perceptive studies of Jewish life and destiny. This new work, however, is valuable only in revealing how patient history is in allowing the most implausible generalizations about her varied patterns of thought and life.

Mr. Samuel begins with some delightful reminiscences of his boyhood as a Rumanian Jewish immigrant lad in an English town. He records with hilarious humor how he was initiated, through the juvenile journals of Britain, into the cult of the English "gentleman," with its ethics of the "stiff upper lip," its condemnation of the "cad," and its final and inclusive moral norm, implied in the phrase "it isn't cricket."

But almost before one knows what has happened Mr. Samuel turns upon the cult of the gentleman, discovering that the code of fairness is merely a façade for what is in reality the embodiment of the "heritage of paganism." That heritage exalts competition, warfare, and the lust for power and honor. This "pagan competitive code (hate)" must be contrasted with the "prophetic cooperative code (love)," and the two contrasting codes are "almost exclusive expressions of the Greek and Jewish peoples." Christianity is a fruit of the Jewish cooperative spirit, but it is quite clear that Mr. Samuel believes the Christian world to suffer from a pathological schizophrenia, since it avows the ideals of the prophets but lives by the code of the gentleman.

In Mr. Samuel's imagination the "gentleman" has become the symbol of everything evil in Western civilization. The middle-class and Socialist enemies of aristocracies are also "gentlemen" because they believe in competition. Competitive games are ritual expressions of the code, and Mr. Samuel is grateful that the children of the East European ghettos know nothing of sports. Plato has a special symbolic significance for Mr. Samuel. Since Plato believed that the state should be ruled by gentlemen, it seems to follow that he was also a moral cynic, for the gentleman is essentially "a killer" who has no moral scruples. No real evidence for this interpretation is offered. The explicit refutation by Plato of the moral cynicism ascribed to him, particularly in the "Gorgias" and the ninth book of "The Republic," is not weighed. Mr. Samuel frequently speaks of the "Plato-Machiavelli-Hitler" world.

The contrasting picture of Jewish ethics rests upon the complete identification of Jewish life with the high moral and religious ideals of the prophets, "who make us see goodness as self-subsistent," who hold that "the meaning [of life] expresses itself in goodness and that life is impossible without goodness." Contests of power in Jewish history such as the wars in the Maccabeean period are ascribed to foreign influence.

It is ridiculous to ascribe to any particular code the universal human tendency to seek one's own at the expense of the happiness of others, and to desire honor and glory; or to imagine that this tendency can be annulled merely by another code of love and cooperation. There are of course vast differences in moral codes; some of them condone and others condemn human egotism. And it is perfectly true that the Western world is deeply indebted to the moral and religious genius of the Hebrew prophets. It is true, moreover, that the Jewish people have inherited profound moral insights and disciplines from the prophets. But to regard the "ethic of cooperation" as a kind of secure moral possession of any particular people is the height of absurdity. And Mr. Samuel has nothing to say about one of the most significant aspects of prophetic thought—namely, its assumption that there is a kind of perpetual struggle between God and his chosen people, because the people are not loyal enough to their covenant. Thus, as Jeremiah insists, the divine judgments fall upon both "circumcision and uncircumcision" for the simple reason that on the highest as well as the lowest levels of moral life ideal conflicts with practice.

Mr. Samuel's claim of a Jewish monopoly of the cooperative spirit becomes particularly pathetic when he insists that "we have reached a stage in the control of nature at which the continuation of the struggle between groups means the destruction of the species as a whole" and yet offers no suggestion as to how the cooperative spirit is to be sluiced out to all peoples from one monopolistic reservoir.

The thesis of Mr. Samuel's book is, in short, an inverted racialism. The Jewish people are making great contributions to the moral life of the Western world. They really do not need this kind of self-exaltation, and they will, on the whole, not be disposed to it. They will recognize that if the desire for honor and glory is nefarious, that form of it which claims a higher virtue for one people than for another may be as dangerous as the form which seeks honor through power. The Communist pretension of a superior proletarian virtue, for instance, is more fruitful of evil than the Communist lust for power.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

MUST WE HAVE WAR TO HAVE PEACE?

Q. What are you talking about—paradoxes?
A. You might call it that. If you want peace, or anything worth having, you must fight for it.
Q. Strife and blood and atom bombs, huh?
A. If you think that is all *war* is, you don't know what *life* is.
Q. What sort of war are you talking about?
A. The one within and behind them all—the war of ideas!

Read—**HANDBOOK OF DEMOCRACY—$1.25**

William-Frederick Press, 313 W. 35 St., N. Y. 1

BOOKS OF ALL KINDS FROM THE USSR

JUST ARRIVED!

First Volume—New Edition

Great Soviet Encyclopedia

DeLuxe printing and binding. Profusely illustrated with color plates and maps. In Russian—640 pp.

Regular Price — $9.50 per Volume

Our Subscription Offer—$8.00 per Volume

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 MUrray Hill 8-2660

Verse Chronicle

WHAT, I sometimes wonder, does W. H. Auden find to do in all his spare time? Here he comes now with a completed job which would take the ordinary mortal at least ten years hard labor, the edition of "Poets of the English Language," in the Viking Portable Library series, five volumes, priced at $2.50 each, from Langland to Spenser, Marlowe to Marvell, Milton to Goldsmith, Blake to Poe, Tennyson to Yeats. Mr. Auden, to be sure, has had, in doing this work, the assistance of Norman Holmes Pearson, and in the first volume also that of E. Talbot Don-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

aldson, who has done the special preparation necessary for the selections in Middle English. These gentlemen, however—I suspect—are going to remain as uncredited, by and large, as Messrs. Martin and Pomeroy in that other field.

Each of the volumes contains approximately 600 pages of poetry from the period represented; in addition, there are indices of titles and first lines, outlines giving dates, background, and direct history, and introductory essays. Authors are amply presented, no miserable smidgets; we have all of The Ancient Mariner, for instance, all of Samson Agonistes, all of The Rape of the Lock. The taste of the editors is both apparent and, like their range, catholic. The introductions are brilliant as well as sensible. In short, if anybody wants to learn as much about English poetry as is offered him here for $12.50, he will end up by knowing a great deal about the subject.

Wallace Stevens, winner of this year's Bollingen prize, appears with "The Auroras of Autumn" (Knopf, $3.). The deprecatory implications of the title will not disturb one sect of Mr. Stevens's enthusiasts; he is, lately, one of the two most be-culted American poets—the other being Dr. Williams. Yet these implications are pertinent, for in this book there is a good deal that is chill, airy, remote, the luminous quality wavering now and then into no more than meditative verse, into prose even. A favorite form is the six-stanza poem, or section, of three-line stanzas, a slow form, tending toward what it is to be hoped Mr. Stevens will never fully accomplish—"the ultimate poem is abstract." Maybe so; and it is only the less-than-perfectionists who would settle for the penultimate, or antepenultimate, quality, the good sensuousness along with music and idea of—Mr. Stevens is probably heartily sick of hearing about it—Peter Quince at the Clavier. There are beautiful lines in this collection and, more rarely, beautiful poems. I quote the first, and the last three of the eight couplets from The Beginning:

> So summer comes in the end to these few stains
> And the rust and the rot of the door through which she went. . .
>
> . . .This is the chair from which she gathered up
> Her dress, the carefulest, commodious weave
> Inwoven by a weaver to twelve bells. . .
> The dress is lying, cast-off, on the floor.
>
> Now, the first tutoyers of tragedy
> Speak softly, to begin with, in the eaves.

This I like better than Mr. Stevens's vatic phase.

The "Selected Apollinaire Writings" (New Directions, $3.50) have been translated and critically introduced by Roger Shattuck. Mr. Shattuck's long prefatory essay is thorough, informative, and informed by admiration for his subject: we are made to see the heroism in the life of Guillaume Apollinaire. Heroism, and zest; the man actually liked things. But if Mr. Shattuck has been almost reverent in his introduction, he has also been almost blasphemous in his translations, which are pretty bad, particularly in their insertion of adjectives Apollinaire did not use, and in their high incidence of clichés. From the right-hand page alone the reader would scarcely derive the idea that Apollinaire was a very fine lyric poet indeed. Poets, it is true, commit all kinds of arrogances and impudences when they translate other poets, but their sins are nothing to what the non-poet is capable of.

"Toward Daybreak," poems by Collister Hutchinson (Harper, $3) contains a preface by Jules Romains and four drawings by Marc Chagall. Miss Hutchinson has sensitivities, feelings, even now and then, call it that, a thought. But her verse is marked by two bad amateurish habits—apostrophizing and asking herself questions in the course of a poem; and this gives an effect of an almost narcissistic self-consciousness, pulling the attention of the reader from object to subject, from the trees or the old men in the square to the gifted observer.

The little, or special, publishing houses, which risk their shoestrings on books of verse that the large commercial houses ignore, deserve of course every encouragement, but they do try the patience, sometimes. The Cummington Press has sent three items: "An Herb Basket," by Richard Eberhart, with an original relief etching by Wightman Williams, price $1; "My Country Dreams," by Wightman Williams, priced at $1.50; and "Doctor Drink," by J. V. Cunningham, with an original criblé relief etching by Wightman Williams, price $1. Mr. Cunningham's epigrams, particularly the title poem, have a wry directness and ironic vigor, so much so that one would like to have the chance to spend a little more money for a substantially longer book by this author. After all, there are only nine poems here, and the longest consists of three quatrains; some of the others are only couplets, and some of the couplets we have heard before somewhere, Number IV, for instance. There are, no doubt, foolisher way to invest a dollar—hoarding nylons, for instance—but even so.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Art

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

FOR its summer public the Metropolitan Museum of Art has been offering a selection of its large holdings in the field of American painting (until October 29). Under the title One Hundred American Painters of the Twentieth Century, the exhibition covers almost everybody who has been anybody between Whistler (died 1903) and Theodoros Stamos, the only artist under thirty whose name appears in the catalogue.

The show is a partial answer to a mounting number of inquiries as to how the Hearn funds, which were given many years ago for the purchase of work by living American artists, have been expended. It should also satisfy those patriots who fear that in the view of the Metropolitan, Western culture is bounded by Bordeaux and Liverpool. And it offers a first concentrated look at purchases of the past year and a half, no fewer than thirty-three of them, not including the gift of the Alfred Stieglitz Collection of works by Demuth,

ART EXHIBITS

SIX MODERN AMERICAN PAINTERS
WILL BARNET
CAMERON BOOTH
PETER BUSA
WORDEN DAY
NORMAN DALY
BALCOMB GREENE
October 2–21
BERTHA SCHAEFER GALLERY
32 East 57 Street, New York City

PAINTINGS
JOSHUA EPSTEIN MARY SINCLAIR
TO OCT. 12
VAN DIEMEN-LILIENFELD
GALLERIES • 21 E. 57 St., N. Y. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hartley, Marin, Dove, O'Keefe, and others. It is not news that the Metropolitan has good Homers and Eakinses, slick Sargents, and meaty George Lukses. But the new purchases, in the face of current controversy about how modern the Metropolitan is willing to be, or ought to be, are of special interest, and the following remarks are therefore limited to them. They represent, it would appear, a sample of what we may expect from Robert Beverly Hale, the new associate curator of American art.

Mr. Hale's position is a curious one. There is an initial ambiguity in the conditions attached to the Hearn funds. Does the term living artists mean artists living now or living at the time of the bequests? The Metropolitan has interpreted it to mean both. Thus in 1950 the Arthur H. Hearn Fund bought not only the Stamos Echo (1948) but a Robert Henri, Dutch Girl in White (1907), and Grant Wood's Midnight Ride of Paul Revere (1931). It was announced in the press that $15,000 was paid for the Grant Wood. While such an expenditure cannot be hailed as an aid and comfort to living art, or even to art itself, one must admit that this work, like Washington Crossing the Delaware, by Leutze, has made a place for itself in American folklore. It all depends on what you are trying to do. The director of the Metropolitan, Francis Henry Taylor, has announced more than once that the proper function of the art museum is to illustrate the history of civilization. The trouble with this theory is that history is always illustrated better by typical things than by the work of solitary geniuses; and the typical things are usually those which took no great spiritual struggle to create. Anyway, Grant Wood certainly did make Paul Revere look cute among the doll houses and the little green-rubber sponges.

Mr. Hale's position, as I was saying, is curious. His boss has been taking potshots at modern art for years, and with increasing vituperation. In a way it is a pity that the Metropolitan cannot leave the contemporary field to others, as is done in Paris by the Louvre and in London by the National Gallery. But the Hearn gifts were made before the days of the Museum of Modern Art and the Whitney, and the Met intends to compete with them. Purchase of works by living Americans was wisely taken away from specialists in the old masters and given to a new curator on full time. Thirty-three purchases in a year, twenty-eight of them from as many living artists, is fast work. Furthermore, a good many seem to be the sort of thing Mr. Taylor takes a dim view of: the Stamos, the Baziotes, the Guston, the Price, the Graves, the Rattner, and the Tobey, to cite some random examples. On the other hand, the Academy is very much in evidence in the brand-new purchases, among them a stuffed Brackman called Sailor's Holiday (1945) and a big milk-fed nude by Leon Kroll (vintage 1933-34). It becomes clear that Mr. Hale, or the Metropolitan—one reviewer has said that several of the purchases show an advanced stage of trusteeitis—will try to please many tastes, instead of taking a position and exerting some kind of leadership.

Naturally enough, there are still many gaps. Jackson Pollock is surely as impressive as Baziotes, and deKooning is as established as Stamos. Horace Pippin was an authentic and often very poignant "primitive." None of these names appear in a supplementary list of more than four hundred American painters represented in the collections of the Metropolitan. And where, pray, is Grandma Moses?

In speaking of artists who seem to me more interesting and inventive than the academicians I am torn between delight that they are represented and a feeling that the acquisitions have been made too fast. I deplore a tendency toward choosing big pictures when smaller examples would represent the artist more admirably. This applies, of course, to conservatives and moderns alike, but particularly to those whose chief appeal is through slick craftsmanship. Baziotes, not one of these, does not justify the large size of his Dragon—except for the color it looks better in the half-tone cut in the catalogue. But there are some surprises: Loren MacIver, whose fragility would seem to imply the modest scale, has a hauntingly beautiful big dawnscape of Paris. To take another painter I admire, I think Ben Shahn could be represented by something better than Death of a Miner.

Hale's essay which precedes the catalogue of the exhibition strikes me as moderate, sensible, and very well written. The concluding paragraph deserves quotation, both for itself and for a purpose that will presently become clear.

> We have seen, in our century, the development of fantastic scientific paraphernalia and much ill-will. We live in the fear of some monstrous event which will bring, at best, a curious and distorted future; at worst, annihilation. The artist is in part a prophet. We should not complain if the shadows that have lately haunted us have for some time been visible under his canvas.

Against this admirable statement let me set another, which appeared in a guest editorial by Francis Henry Taylor in the *Saturday Review of Literature* for July 8, under the title A Credo for the Artist:

> I learned the hard way that defeatism is too expensive for the modern age. It will take a great deal more than psychiatry and modern art to put the world back on its feet. It is a stimulating experience to explore the roots of the misery of our time, but the moment has perhaps arrived to start calling our shots.

In fairness to Mr. Taylor, let it be said that he has not imposed his point of view on Mr. Hale. But I think the Renaissance that his shot-calling would usher in is a phony. And I think that no museum director whatever is in a position to give out credos for artists.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

TWO superb works of Handel, the Concerti Grossi Opus 6 Nos. 3 and 4, are on a London record (LPS 207), performed by the Boyd Neel Orchestra with life and warmth, and reproduced with beautiful sound (on my limited-range summer phonograph).

On a Haydn Society record (HSLP 1015) are two symphonies by Haydn, No. 83 ("La Poule") (1785) and No. 84 (1786), which provide a demonstration of a difference in style and quality that is curious in works so close together in time. The first movement of No. 83 has a charming "second subject," but for the rest is the mere bustle of the early symphonies; the second movement rambles on discursively; the minuet is more interesting in its oddness; the finale is only so-so. But the blandly charming first movement of No. 84, even with its few bare spots, is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more like the real thing—*i.e.*, the process and style of the late symphonies; so is the second movement; and so is the finale, which has some of the daring harmonic progressions of Haydn's maturest works. The performances by the Vienna Collegium Musicum under Anton Heiller are slow-paced and pedestrian; surfaces are not quiet.

On another London record (LLP 169) is Tchaikovsky's "Francesca da Rimini," not one of his best pieces in its entirety, but with fine pages, such as the opening and the music of the Paolo and Francesca episode (though this is repeated too many times). The performance by the Paris Conservatory Concerts Orchestra under Jorda is very good; its recorded sound is at times—*e.g.*, the climax of the Paolo and Francesca music—deficient in bass and body; the surface is a little gritty. On the reverse side is the LP version of the previously issued recording of Prokofiev's "Classical" Symphony by the same orchestra under Münch, of which the sound is also a little deficient in bass. I happen to like both works; but there are people who like only one, and may not buy the record because they don't want the other; and so even the record companies should be able to see that this practice of coupling works that don't belong together on one record is a mistake.

Columbia has issued Satie's music for the ballet "Parade" and some of Auric's for "Les Matelots," played by the Houston Symphony under Kurtz. The Satie is amusing and charming for a while, but doesn't hold interest as something just to listen to; and the Auric is even less interesting.

The later variations of Fauré's Theme and Variations Opus 73 for piano get to be quite elaborate; but his writing—in this piece, the Barcarolle Opus 26, and the Nocturne Opus 36 performed by Kathleen Long on a London record (LPS 260)—remains something I don't respond to. The performances are suitably fluent and elegant; their recorded sound is superb; surfaces are a little gritty.

Bach's Partitas Nos. 3 and 5 are music whose dullness is not concealed by Rosalyn Tureck's performances on an Allegro record (AL 64). The Partita in E minor (AL 67) is a larger-scale and more imposing-sounding work, with an impressive opening movement, but nevertheless not interesting, for me, after that. Miss Tureck's performance is no better; surfaces are noisy.

Bach's Trio Sonata No. 2 I also find uninteresting; but No. 5 has a good first movement. Robert Noehren's performances on the organ in Kenmore Presbyterian Church, Buffalo, are as usual clear and otherwise good, and are reproduced with remarkable clarity by the Allegro record (AL 61)

Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

IT IS pure pleasure to watch the acting of Edith Evans and Cecil Parker in "Daphne Laureola" (Music Box). If the piece falls short, it is at least of a quality to engage the intelligence; and it gives scope to the elegant skill of its stars. I use the word stars for lack of a better, for one of the beauties of this performance is that Miss Evans and Mr. Parker never suggest that they are stars. The play's the thing, and their strict adherence to this principle makes the play seem a better thing than it is.

Mr. Bridie uses as its base the myth of Daphne, who when she was pursued by Apollo prayed to be turned into a laurel tree and was granted her request. "Daphne Laureola" explores, in contemporary terms, the consequences of Daphne's choice.

Now the consequences of such choices are interesting enough. The trouble is that, in the theater, they constitute third act and epilogue—the real drama, the dynamic development, has gone before. The incidents illustrating the consequences may be fascinating, and some are dramatic in themselves, but all are part of a situation which is an ending, not a beginning or a middle, and therefore basically static. "Daphne Laureola" is all third act and epilogue (so, by the way, was "A Street Car Named Desire"). And this fact creates another hazard. What has gone before must somehow be made clear—which makes for long stretches of analysis and reporting that may, again, be interesting but are not intrinsically dramatic.

Aside from this basic flaw, "Daphne Laureola" has other defects. The young Pole who is the foil for Lady Pitts, the Daphne of the story, is highly unconvincing, more ludicrous than touching, as he is supposed to be. And the minor characters—a group of people whom Lady Pitts picks up in a drunken moment and invites to her house for tea—come to seem very tiresome because they are merely types in the first place and in the second have no integral part in the story. Finally, even as a study Mr. Bridie's exploration does not come off, because his main, and potentially powerful, theme is obscured and weakened by other minor themes.

The high point of the evening comes at the beginning, in Miss Evans's stunning portrayal of Lady Pitts—a woman of fifty but still beautiful—on one of her periodic benders in a Soho restaurant; and the first act, or incident, is the best. But the rest, thanks to Mr. Bridie's wit and sophistication, is at least entertaining, and with Miss Evans and Mr. Parker in performance the dialogues between Lady Pitts and her elderly husband are very moving—and wonderfully satisfying as examples of the art of acting.

EVEN THOUGH the scarcity of vinilyte is tending to make LP RECORDS scarce and do away with discounts—
LES DISCOPHILES announces a 40% off sale on LP Records listing at $5.45 and $5.95.
Send 3¢ stamp for catalog of LP BARGAINS
LES DISCOPHILES, 1079 Lexington Ave., N. Y. C.
Hours 12 noon-10 p.m. daily RHinelander 4-9294

NEW LP RELEASE
PROKOFIEFF
OVERTURE ON HEBREW THEMES
Opus 34
QUINTET
Opus 39 for Oboe, Clarinet, Violin, Viola, Bass
PARIS CHAMBER ORCHESTRA
S P L P 512
$5.95
ELAINE MUSIC SHOP
9 East 44 Street bet. Fifth & Madison
New York City 17 MUrray Hill 2-6154

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN
MARY MARTIN
RAY MIDDLETON
IN
South Pacific
Music by RICHARD RODGERS
Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
Adapted from JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner
with MYRON McCORMICK
MAJESTIC Thea., 44 St. W. of B'way
Evenings 8:30 Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SCHOOL

The MIDTOWN SCHOOL

- Pre-School
- Kindergarten
- First and Second Grades

All-Day or Half-Day Sessions
Several Openings for 1950-51 School Year
6 West 71 St., New York TRafalgar 7-5920

BOOKS

PENGUIN MODERN PAINTERS—$1.00
HENRY MOORE, George Grigson
PAUL NASH, Herbert Read
JOHN PIPER, John Betjeman
VICTOR PASMORE, Clive Bell
EDWARD BAWDEN, J. M. Richards
BEN SHAHN, James Thrall Soby
BEN NICHOLSON, John Summerson
DAVID JONES, Robin Ironside
EDWARD HOPPER, Lloyd Goodrich
PAUL KLEE, Douglas Cooper
Add 5¢ postage per book. Free list of reprint bargains.
Book Reprints, Box 35, Rockaway Beach, N. Y.

PUBLISHING SERVICE

WRITERS—Efficient sales service for your books, short stories, articles, plays. Free booklet. Write today! Daniel S. Mead Literary Agency, 419 Fourth Ave., N. Y. C. 16.

THE *Nation*
IN CLASSROOMS

The Editors of The Nation:

In freshman communications classes here at Michigan State College we often have students report on magazines. One of my students, a married veteran, at this moment first came upon *The Nation*, never having read any serious magazine before. In a way he was all thumbs, for the magazine as well as the report were new experiences for him.

But in his conclusion he suddenly forgot his notes and said what *The Nation* seemed to him to be. I think you will agree that you have been complimented as highly as is possible. "It's not for violence," he said, "but strictly for freedom. They want to get at wrongdoing through truth. They don't say anything without telling you why they say it."

KENNETH MACRORIE
Department of Written and Spoken English, Michigan State College

INSTRUCTORS

The Nation's Special Classroom Rate is

40¢ Monthly per Student

for orders of 10 or more copies to be sent to one address. Desk copy supplied free.

Address your order to

THE NATION ● 20 VESEY ST. ● NEW YORK 7

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Faculty and Regents at California

Dear Sirs: In the last few months *The Nation* and other liberal journals have done a great deal of sobbing over the plight of the faculty of the University of California. In all these lamentations the whole blame for this débâcle of academic freedom has been laid on the calloused shoulders of the business men who form the Board of Regents of the university. While any business man is a bright target for any liberal—and richly deserves it—this approach does not present a true picture of the situation or anything like it.

It should be pointed out that a great majority of the Academic Senate and nearly all the administrative staff signed the non-Communist oath without a quiver of shame or the faintest notion that they were putting themselves into the strait-jacket of rigid conformity. In fact, a considerable minority of the faculty has been baying with the hounds and urging stronger and more restrictive measures against dissenters. And though the Regents are not noted for gentle tolerance in thought or action, their fellow-travelers among the learned put forth the same arguments with, as Charles Stuart put it, "no learning, no manners, no sense, and more impudence than ten carted street-walkers." If the faculty was defeated ignominiously in this battle it is because most of them were "defeated" before they were out of high school.

A month ago the janitors of the university pointed the way out of the dilemma in which the members of the faculty find themselves. They struck and kept on striking until they got a reasonable settlement of their grievances. One ninety-pound professor picketing the main gate of the university with determination and courage would have brought the Regents to heel in a month. This method, of course, would have been excessively plebeian for the vast majority of the faculty members. Let's face the truth: most of our teachers, whatever their attainments in specialized scholarship, are by education, training, and years of "conditioning" as shining exemplars of the *Lumpenbourgeoisie* as anything you can find on Wall, La Salle, or Montgomery streets in a month of Sundays. It might not be too difficult to prove that the principle of academic freedom stands in greater danger from some of these victims than from the professional patriots of the business community.

E. L. ADAMS

Berkeley, Cal., September 18

Dear Sirs: Having usurped the functions of tradition and the spirit of democratic procedure, the obscurantist faction in the University of California Board of Regents may feel secure, marshaled behind their political test for university employment. And yet the Regents of the University of California could be brought to their knees very easily—though not by the anticipated black list of the American Association of University Professors, which may dignify the impending war of attrition but will be small comfort to the men who lose their jobs or their security of tenure or their hopes for professional and personal integrity and a climate of minimal freedoms. The Regents' surrender could be obtained easily by a simple means: if the five great Eastern universities—Harvard, Chicago, Columbia, Yale, and Princeton—were to announce the non-recognition of California credits for transfer and of California degrees for admission to graduate schools, even the oligarchy of California Regents would have to bow. An academic federalism can be just as effective as a political one.

Henry Ford, Sr., used an analogous device to raise cash during the twenties and escape banker-control. When he found Wall Street terms onerous, he simply forced cars on dealers everywhere, who themselves forced local banks to raise loans, which ultimately flowed out of Wall Street. And even the California Legislature may recognize the fact of the ultimate power of the people, especially when the people become hopping mad.

It may be objected that such a tactic would be unfair to students. One can reply, first, that the Regents, having arrogated to themselves sole power, may easily meet the move, and, second, that the ultimate effect of the University of California's downhill slide will be pretty much the same, anyway.

Whether the American academic community can or will stand up for its effective existence in a crisis is another question.

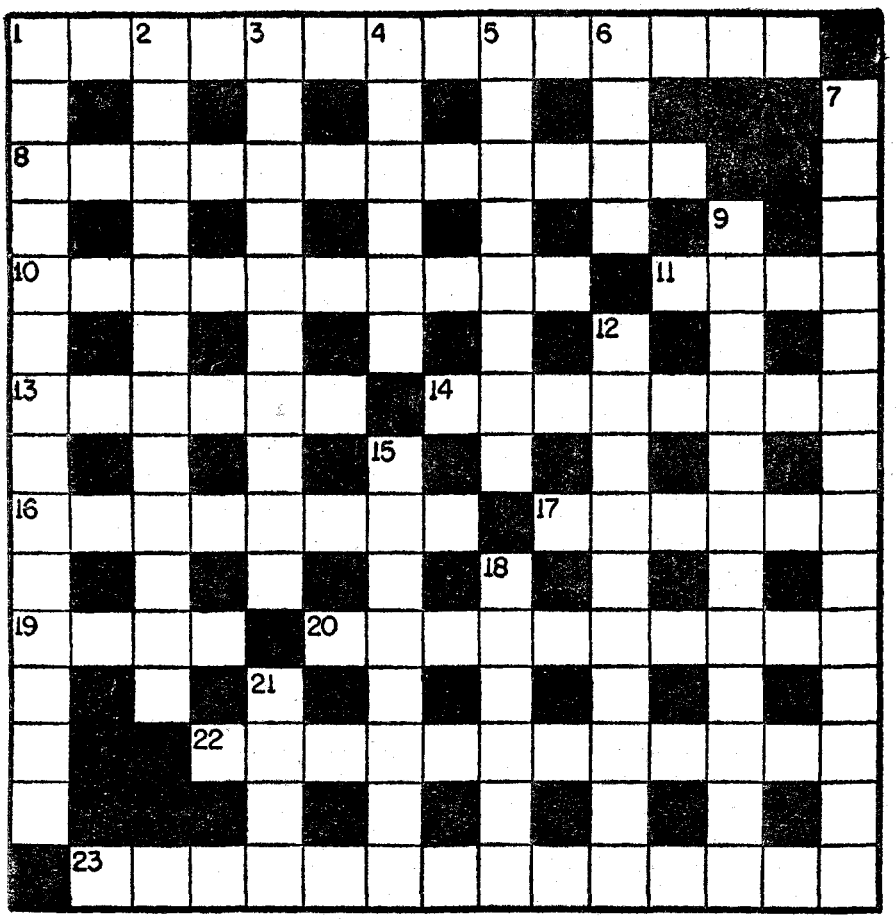
R. WULIGER

Berkeley, Cal., September 16

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 381

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Putting on airs in church, perhaps! (4, 10)
8 They have to knock on wood in time.
10 A matter of one darned case after another!
11 Prevents extreme youth from getting rash.
13 One can't say this girl comes to a bad end!
14 Usually comes down after the rain.
16 Be in thorough-going surroundings, and yet off the beam.
17 Coster company, perhaps.
19 Lean on your foot!
20 One lives it, but not all enjoy it!
22 Hit-and-run method of attack (distorted into a final blow?).
23 Night gowns? (7, 7)

DOWN

1 Mother's Pa (or Pa's mother). (5, 9)
2 "Foregoing" and "begot"? How conceited! (4–8)
3 Harvest after season, but insignificant.
4 Where Dewey feels at home.
5 Regular outfits.
6 Drinks for little children.
7 Lets the iron cool, perhaps.
9 Women have all kinds of these at their fingertips. (4, 8)
12 There's foresight shown in the kind of course future scientists should take.
15 A meringue couldn't be so perfect!
18 Lie in bed, completely misrepresented.
21 Worthless version of 2.

—□—

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 380

ACROSS:—1 SEBASTIAN; 6 GAFFS; 9, 7, 20, 6, 11, and 28 NEITHER FISH NOR FLESH NOR GOOD RED HERRING; 10 CROSSES; 12 PIGLET; 13 KNEE; 15 PRESENTS; 16 MITRED; 18 STRIKE; 23 ARTY; 24 VICUNA; 25 ROT; 29 IMITATE; 30 ORDER; 31 TELEGRAPH.

DOWN:—1 SUNER; 2 BRINDLE; 3 SCHIPPERKE; 4 IRRIGATE; 5 NUCLEI; 8 SUSPENDER; 14 MISSTATING; 15 PISTACHIO; 17 ALLUVIAL; 19 RETIRED; 21 NIRVANA; 22 MIDGET; 26 TEETH; 27 LIAR.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

RESORTS

HATHAWAY LODGE

Enjoy Indian Summer at the palatial 592-acre former Macy estate in the beautiful "Hills of the Sky". Luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces. Delicious food. Golf, clay tennis courts. Walk and hike on magnificent mountain trails. Horseback riding. Recordings, ping-pong, library, informal dancing. Easy transportation. FOR ADULTS.
ATTRACTIVE FALL RATES
For reservations or booklet write or call
HATHAWAY LODGE, Haines Falls, N. Y.
Telephone Tannersville 299

Lakecrest
ON HUNN'S LAKE STANFORDVILLE, N. Y.
Our 100-acre estate in the heart of Dutchess County offers you the utmost in comfort, excellent food, sports, cultural pursuits—or just plain restful lounging. An adult resort, only 90 miles from N. Y. C.
EVA BERG, Director Stanfordville 2982-2093

A resort designed for gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, warm hospitality. Two lakes, all sports.
50 MILES from N. Y. C.
FOREST HOUSE
LAKE MAHOPAC, N. Y. TEL. MAHOPAC 8-3688

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, $5.00.

LANGUAGES

IT'S EASIER TO LEARN A LANGUAGE BY LINGUAPHONE. At home, in leisure time, quickly, easily, correctly master Spanish, French, German —or any one of 29 languages through proved Linguaphone Conversational Method. Send for FREE book.
LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE
81-P, RADIO CITY, N. Y. 20, N. Y.

PERSONAL

COLUMBIA, M.A. Will accept free-lance assignments. Writing, Editing, Research, Proof-Reading, Publicity. Experienced. Phone: OR 3-6126.

To place an ad in *The Nation*
call BArclay 7-1066

Printed in the U. S. A. by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Four Important Books by *Nation* Staff Writers

The Decline and Fall of British Capitalism

By Keith Hutchison

● "A compact and well-written history of the rise of the British Labor Party, of the development of its political doctrine and parliamentary progress, and of the brilliant tactics of British conservatives in defense and retreat."—J. K. Galbraith, *N. Y. Times.*

American Freedom and Catholic Power

By Paul Blanshard

● "A book that might prove historic.... Measured, coolly reasoned, and backed by a broad range of careful scholarly research."—*Christian Science Monitor.*

Music in the Nation

By B. H. Haggin

● "Here is a man who says what he thinks, and says it with a kind of clarity, vigor, and transparent honesty akin to that with which William Hazlitt wrote about the theatre."—John K. Hutchens, *N. Y. Herald Tribune.*

The Last Optimist

By J. Alvarez del Vayo

● "His memories are rich and fascinating, for he has known such people as Lenin and Krupskaya, Nehru, Rosa Luxemburg, and Karl Liebknecht, as well as artists and writers of the School of Paris, who brought off a little revolution of their own, and, of course, everyone who counted for anything in Spanish public life before Franco."—*The New Yorker.*

READERS' SERVICE DEPT., The Nation
20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Enclosed is my remittance of $_____
for which please mail me, postpaid, a copy of

- ☐ MUSIC IN THE NATION ($5)
- ☐ THE LAST OPTIMIST ($4)
- ☐ THE DECLINE AND FALL OF BRITISH CAPITALISM ($3.50)
- ☐ AMERICAN FREEDOM AND CATHOLIC POWER ($3.50)

*Name*_____

*Address*_____

*City*_____

*Zone*_____ *State*_____

9/30/50

ORDER YOUR COPY NOW

Clip and Mail This Order Form

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED